STANDARD FORM NO. 64

SECRET

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : S - The Secretary
Through: S/S
FROM : FE - Mr. Rusk

DATE: October 27, 1950.

SUBJECT: Position Paper Respecting First Phase of UN Consideration of Formosa

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MR
REVIEWED BY L. Afelsod DATE 3/9/82
PORTIONS DENIED AS INDICATED

Attached hereto (Tab A) is a ~~position paper~~ drafted in FE to provide guidance for our UN delegation with respect to the first phase of UN consideration of the agenda item "Question of Formosa". This item is on the agenda of Committee One of the General Assembly and is expected to come up for consideration in the near future.

Recommendation:

That you approve the attached position paper for transmittal to the U.S. delegation.

793.00/10-2750

RM/R
Anal 55
Rev
Cat

SECRET FILE

SECRET

FE:CA:WWStuart:ah

454799

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

Tab A

Problem:

To determine the preliminary position to be taken in the General Assembly by the U.S. Delegation with respect to certain aspects of the item "Question of Formosa".

Recommendations:

1. The U.S. should support the adoption of a resolution along the lines indicated in Annexes 2 and 3.

2. The U.S. should not oppose the participation of the Chinese Communists in the debate on this item in the First Committee, should they request such participation.

3. If the question of the present mission of the U.S. Seventh Fleet is raised in the debate the U.S. Delegate should make a statement along the lines set forth on pages 3 and 4 of this paper.

Discussion:

The General assembly has approved a recommendation of its General Committee that the Assembly place on its agenda for the current session the "Question of Formosa" and refer it to its First Committee. The U.S. proposed this item and supported the recommendation of the General Committee.

In our view the problem of Formosa requires extensive study with full opportunity for ascertaining all pertinent facts, hearing all interested parties and studying possible solutions. The magnitude of this task makes it impossible for Committee I itself to attempt an examination of the substantive aspects of the problem. Consequently it is expected that the Committee will recommend to the GA a suitable resolution providing for the establishment of a special Commission to study the problem in all of its aspects and report its findings and recommendations at a later date. The British concur in this general approach to the problem and have submitted a draft resolution for our consideration. We have in turn provided the British a draft based on their proposed draft and embodying our suggested changes. Copies of those drafts are attached as Annexes 1 and 2.

DECLASSIFIED
NARA
Anal
Rev
Cat

We hope

FRUS 1951 Vol VI 793.00/10-2551

We hope by this procedure (1) to bring about the military neutralization of Formosa while the question is under consideration by the UN, (2) to avoid the necessity for publicly taking a flat and rigid definitive position respecting the substantive aspects of the problem at this time, (3) to provide for a thorough study and exchange of views, leading to (4) the solution of the problem by peaceful means.

We consider that (1) above can be accomplished by suitable phraseology in the resolutions calling upon the concerned parties to refrain from seeking a solution by force while the matter is being considered by the UN. We believe it important that this part of the resolution be as strong as possible and have suggested in our revision of the British draft a recommendation that the Security Council consider and take appropriate action in the event that a concerned party resorts to force. It is believed that this military neutralization constitutes one of our most important immediate objectives and that our representatives should make every effort to see that the part of the resolution dealing with this aspect of the problem is retained.

There are solid advantages in a procedure which does not require the U.S. or its major friends and allies to commit themselves to hard and fast positions respecting the substantive aspects of the problem at this time. At present, there is a considerable gap between our thinking and that of our major friends. It would be harmful to have these divergences given public prominence. On the other hand, it is very possible that with the passing of time as the intentions of the Chinese Communists respecting their neighbors become clearer and as certain factors in the situation such as the wishes of the Formosans are brought out and given greater prominence, these divergences may be substantially reduced or eliminated.

It is believed neither necessary nor desirable that the U.S. commit itself on the substantive aspect of the question during consideration in Committee I. If it becomes desirable in general debate or in private conversations with other delegates to address this phase of the problem, U.S. representatives should state frankly that the U.S. Government has no specific solution in mind;

[redacted] that it

that it assumes one of the purposes of the Commission is to bring out all relevant factors and provide a full exchange of views; and that the U.S. will expect to formulate its own position as the work of the Commission progresses. Beyond this, it is believed that the U.S. representatives could and should make clear that in the opinion of this Government the Commission should give careful consideration to the Chinese claim to Formosa, to the well-being and wishes of the Formosans themselves, and to the valid interest of the community of nations in promoting peace and security in the western Pacific area. This interest of the world community embraces not only the need for a peaceful solution of this problem where use of force had been threatened; it necessitates taking into account such other factors as the past use of Formosa as a base for military aggression and the possible future use of it for this purpose. The U.S. should emphatically reiterate when necessary that it does not claim any privileges or harbor any territorial ambitions with regard to the Island.

In a statement to the Secretary General of October 17, 1950 Chou En-lai insisted that representatives of the People's Republic of China be allowed to participate in the Assembly discussion of the Soviet complaint of the United States aggression against China and the complaint of U.S. attacks from the sea and air against Chinese territory. He protested, however, the decision to include the "Question of Formosa" in the agenda and demanded that the Assembly "cancel this illegal decision". In view of this position the Communists may not demand participation in the Assembly debate on this item. Should the Chinese Communists make such request the U.S. should not oppose their participation in the debate of this item in the First Committee.

It is probable that during the course of discussion in Committee I the question of the present mission of the U.S. Seventh Fleet will be raised and it is essential that the U.S. representative be prepared to deal with this question promptly and in a forthright manner. If the question is raised it is believed that the U.S. representative should point out that the present mission of the Seventh Fleet is to insure the military neutralization of Formosa until peace and security are restored in the general

general area of Korea and that the United States would be happy to terminate the mission of the Seventh Fleet if neutralization were assured by other means as, for example, if the Chinese parties accepted a recommendation of the General Assembly that they not seek a solution of the Formosan question by force while it is under consideration by the UN. It is believed that such an undertaking by the U.S. would tend to reduce UN discussion of the Seventh Fleet while the resolution is under consideration. Furthermore if the Chinese parties should accept the recommendation, adequate protection would be provided the flank of UN forces in Korea. The United States Delegation should avoid permitting any impression that this position would prejudice the freedom of the United States to withdraw the Seventh Fleet when the Korean situation permits even in the absence of assurances of the nature under discussion.

With respect to the composition of the Commission it is believed that in the Commission the proportion of members recognizing Communist China should be roughly the same as obtains in the General Assembly and that the composition of the Commission should take into account the predominently Asian nature of the problem. The final position of the U.S. on this question should be determined in the light of results of consultations with other Delegations.

Finally, it should be pointed out that very possibly when the Formosa question arises for consideration the USSR, supported by its satellites will hold the position that since Formosa is Chinese UN consideration of its disposition is unnecessary and illegal and that they will not participate in any discussion of it or recognize any findings. India and Yugoslavia might also oppose any study as unnecessary. In the event that this contingency arises, the United States should continue to advocate the study of the problem and the adoption of the resolution; we should emphasize that, as in other cases in the past, the General Assembly cannot be prevented by a mihority from a course of action which is favored by the majority and is fully consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

NOTE: The Department will undertake to have the American position

DECLASSIFIED

position respecting the substantive aspects of "The Question of Formosa" established and in readiness for any possible later requirement.

Annexes:

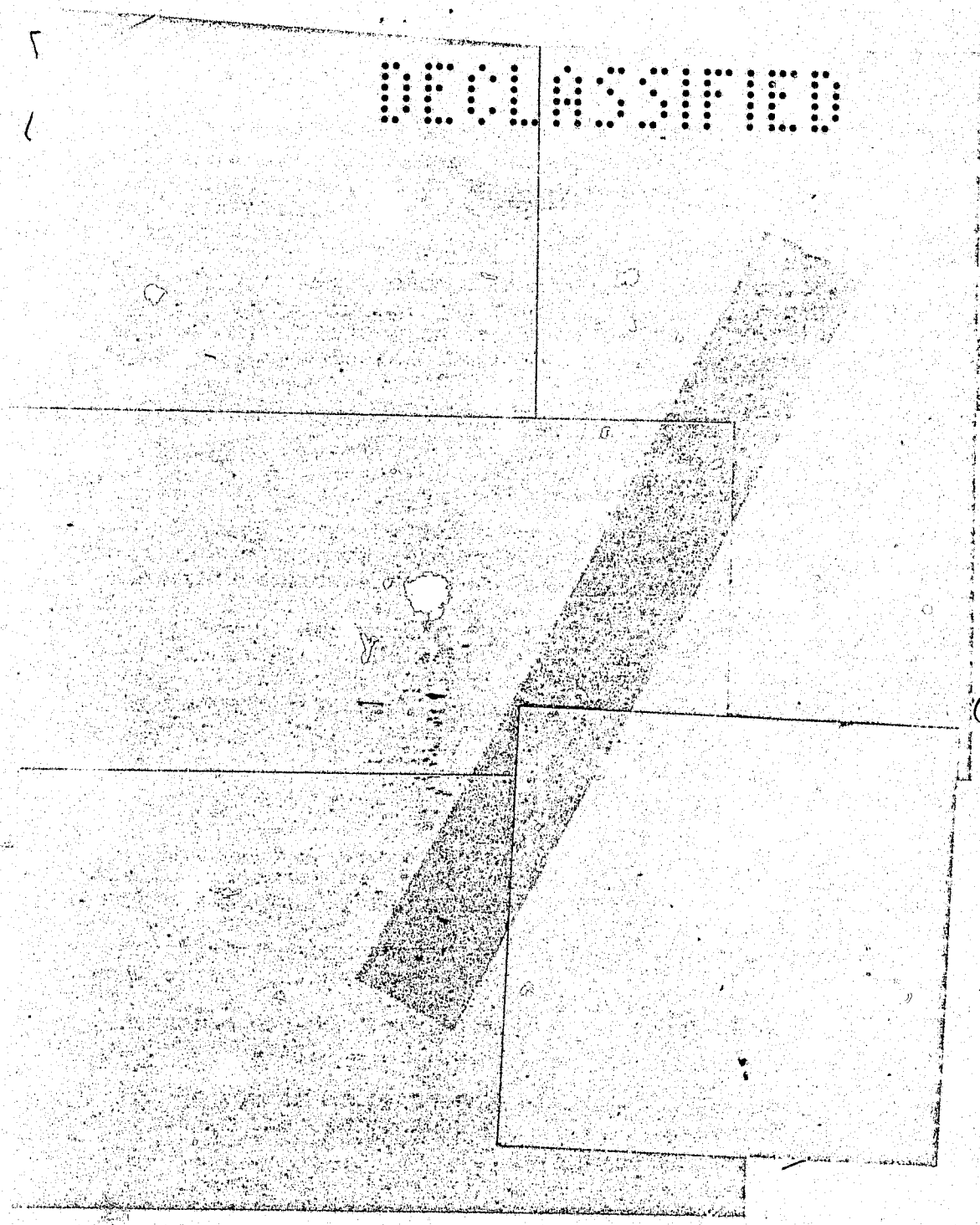
1. British draft resolution.
2. Department's draft resolution.
3. Department's suggestions of further modifications.

DECLASSIFIED

FE:CA:WWStuart
UNA:UNP:EStein:ah

Annex 1

DECLASSIFIED



Annex 1

(b)

DECLASSIFIED

Annex 3

A telegram to USUN has been drafted in the Department suggesting modification of the draft resolution in Annex 2 to make it clear that the commission established pursuant to the draft resolution would be under no compulsion to report to the present General Assembly if its studies required a longer period. If and when this telegram is cleared in the Department it would become Annex 3 to this paper.

Annex 3

DECLASSIFIED

Annex 2

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

Department's Draft Resolution

Noting (A) that the signatories to the Cairo Declaration declared it to be one of their purposes that all the territories that Japan had stolen from the Chinese, including Formosa and the Pescadores, should be restored to the Republic of China;

(B) That no formal act restoring sovereignty to China has yet occurred, although at the end of hostilities with Japan the Chinese National Government was permitted to assume the administration of the island;

Annex A

Recognizing that two parties, both Chinese, at present claim the right to administer Formosa, that there have been threats of an armed attack on Formosa from the Chinese mainland and that Formosa has been used as a base for attacks on the Chinese mainland, and that an attempt to settle the dispute by force or the continuance of attacks on the Chinese mainland from Formosa would heighten international tension at a time when the situation in the Pacific area is already tense as a result of events in Korea, and would be prejudicial to the interests of the people of Formosa;

Decides to establish a commission composed of the representatives of (specified states) which, bearing in mind China's claim, taking into account the interests of the people of Formosa, and giving consideration to the maintenance of peace in the Pacific, should study the problem and submit a report to the GA containing recommendations for the future of Formosa and the Pescadores. The Commission should consult all governments, authorities and parties concerned, including both Chinese claimants;

Recommends that, pending the study by the Commission and adoption by the GA of recommendations concerning this problem (A) there be no attempt to seek a solution of the status of Formosa by force, (B) Formosa not be used as a base for attacks on the Chinese mainland;

Requests both Chinese parties to act in conformity with the recommendation in the preceding paragraph;

Recommends to the Security Council that it consider immediately any action in contravention of (A) or (B) of above

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

above recommendation with a view to adopting appropriate measures for the maintenance of international peace and security;

Requests all parties to render every possible assistance to the commission in the performance of its tasks.

DECLASSIFIED